



# SPECIAL REPORT

## GOP GREAT OIL PAYBACK



**CONGRESSIONAL REPUBLICANS  
REFILL THEIR COFFERS AT  
BIG OIL'S PUMP**

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# GREAT OIL PAYBACK: CONGRESSIONAL REPUBLICANS REFILL THEIR COFFERS AT BIG OIL'S PUMP

It has been widely reported that President Bush has proposed an energy plan that reads like a wish-list for major energy corporations: profits first, helping consumers and protecting the environment come last. But that is not surprising. These same energy corporations were the biggest donors to the Bush campaign.

Now it is Congress' turn to act on an energy plan. What can the American people expect from Republican Leaders that control the House? Will Republicans craft a plan calling for drilling in wildlife refuges, or will they work for a balanced approach to protect consumers, improve energy efficiency as well as increase domestic production?

From looking at GOP campaign contributions and their record of inaction on electricity price relief for Western consumers, it is clear that like Bush, congressional Republican Leaders are beholden to Big Energy. Republican congressional campaigns, like the Bush campaign, have raked in millions from Big Energy.

Overall, Republican candidates and party committees raised \$26.1 million from the oil and gas industry for the 2000 election according to the Center for Responsive Politics. This made oil and gas the fourth largest contributor to Republican party committees. Over the past decade, Big Oil has given more than \$90 million to Republicans – nearly three-fourths of all of their contributions. From electric utilities, Republican candidates and parties have reeled in nearly \$13 million for the 2000 campaign – two-thirds of Big Electric's contributions.

In return, Republican congressional leaders have embraced the Bush energy plan, and are working to protect Big Energy from Democratic efforts to help consumers with skyrocketing energy costs.

This week, Republican Leaders will be capitalizing on their efforts on behalf of Big Energy. Republicans are holding a \$20 million-plus fundraiser, the President's Dinner, to help elect Republicans to the House and Senate. No doubt Big Oil and Gas will be there with their wallets open and their pumps primed.

This report looks at some of the major Republican players in the House and Senate on energy. It examines the GOP's ties to Big Energy: both the campaign contributions that they received care of Big Energy, as well as some of their efforts on behalf of Big Energy now and in the past.

This report looks at the following GOP Leaders who have held and continue to hold the key decisionmaking positions:

- Speaker J. Dennis Hastert – Honorary Chairman of the Republican President’s Dinner has been a longtime friend of Big Electric and has pulled in more than \$400,000 over the past decade. (See page 4)
- Majority Leader Dick Armey – Called “a feisty scrapper for the oil and gas interests,” Armey who controls the House schedule took in more than \$400,000 from oil and gas, and has long been a proponent of drilling in the Arctic Refuge. In addition to blocking even the consideration of an amendment to stop electricity price gouging, Armey rejected calls among his own GOP Leaders for hearings that might require Big Energy to answer for skyrocketing prices. (See page 5)
- Majority Whip Tom DeLay – Known as the “Congressman for Enron,” he is the House point man for coordinating action on Bush’s energy plan. He raised more than \$600,000 from Big Energy, and says that “the cleanest thing you can do is drill off of California and Florida.” (See page 8)
- Energy and Commerce Chair Billy Tauzin – Tauzin is one of the biggest recipients in the House of campaign contributions from Big Energy interests, and chairs the committee that will work on the major portions of the Bush pro-energy plan. (See page 11)
- Energy and Air Quality Subcommittee Chairman Joe Barton – A major recipient of Big Energy campaign contributions, his life’s mission is to make life easier for oil and gas producing companies. He advocates weakening environmental protections and easing the rules that govern what drillers can and can’t do. He has a history of opposing energy efficiency measures and believes no land should be off limits to drilling - including national monuments. (See page 13)
- Minority Leader Trent Lott – Honorary Chairman of the Republican President’s Dinner, invites Big Oil into his own front yard to drill. Lott has long been a prime recipient of Big Energy dollars and his legislative history shows it’s been a worthwhile investment for those companies. (See page 15)
- Minority Whip Don Nickles – A representative of Big Oil interests, Don Nickles is dedicated to helping prop-up his friends in the energy business. Nickles routinely sponsors and co-sponsors measures to help Big Oil and Gas. These special interests inundate Nickles with campaign cash and in return he fights to reduce their taxes and other “burdens” to doing business. (See page 17)
- Former Chair & Ranking Member of the Senate Energy Committee Frank Murkowski – This is a man with an almost singular mission - opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling. As ranking member of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources committee, Murkowski is the second biggest recipient of Big Energy campaign donations, and this year has introduced major energy legislation that the *New York Times* has dubbed an “oil driller’s bill.” (See page 18)

## Big Energy Contributions to GOP Congressional Leaders on Energy 1991-2000

	Total From Big Energy+
<b>Speaker Dennis Hastert</b>	<b>404,387</b>
<b>Majority Leader Dick Armey</b>	<b>401,675</b>
<b>Majority Whip Tom DeLay</b>	<b>626,775</b>
<b>House Energy &amp; Commerce Chair Billy Tauzin</b>	<b>\$551,950</b>
<b>House Energy &amp; Commerce Subcommittee Chair Joe Barton</b>	<b>\$1,004,909</b>
<b>Senate Minority Leader Trent Lott*</b>	<b>\$205,783</b>
<b>Senate Minority Whip Don Nickles*</b>	<b>\$328,027</b>
<b>Senate Energy &amp; Natural Resources Ranking Member Frank Murkowski*</b>	<b>\$416,920</b>

**Source: Campaign Study Group**

**Includes contributions to their Leadership PACs**

**+Includes contributions from oil and gas, electric utilities, and nuclear industry.**

**\*Only contributions from 1995-2000, and does not include Leadership PACs.**

## **House Speaker Dennis Hastert: Longtime Friend of Big Electric**

As Speaker of the House of Representatives, Hastert will be a key player in guiding House action on the Bush energy package. Hastert has been a longtime friend of Big Electric, dating back to his days in the Illinois state legislature.

### ***Big Energy Campaign Contributions & Special Ties***

From 1991 through 2000, Speaker Hastert collected more than \$400,000 from Big Energy, according to the Campaign Study Group. (This includes funds to his campaign committee and his Leadership PAC, Keep Our Majority.) Specifically, he raised \$113,782 from Oil and Gas, and \$273,000 from the Electric Utilities.

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, Electric Utilities are one of the top industry contributors to Hastert. In fact, Hastert was the 4<sup>th</sup> largest recipient in the House of money from Electric Utilities for the 2000 election, and 14<sup>th</sup> largest recipient among all federal candidates. And this is nothing new. Since 1989, he is the 12<sup>th</sup> largest recipient of contributions from Electric Utilities of all candidates for federal office.

Among Hastert's top contributors [in 1997-98] were Southern Co., Edison Electric Institute, Houston Industries, Carolina Power & Light and Florida Power & Light. (*Megawatt Daily, January 13, 1999*) Firms representing major companies such as General Electric held fundraisers for Hastert, "helping him to raise even more money than his predecessor," ex-Speaker Newt Gingrich, "did during his first six months as speaker." (*AP 8/3/99*)

He [Hastert] is cozy with many of the industries that he regulated as a lawmaker, including telephone companies, medical groups and utilities." (*Chicago Tribune, 4/11/99*)

### ***Hastert's Record on Behalf of Big Energy***

In the current debate, Hastert has endorsed the Bush Big Energy plan. He says the White House proposal "strikes the right balance by successfully boosting conservation, implementing renewable fuels and 21st-century technologies and ensuring safe exploration." (*New York Times, 5/18/01*) Hastert has promised to move the Bush plan through the House before the August recess.

Hastert also voted for the rule for the FY 2001 Supplemental Appropriations, which blocked consideration of a bill to establish price caps on Western electricity. He also endorsed the Bush budget which called for substantial cuts in energy efficiency and renewable energy.

Hastert also blamed high Midwest gas prices last summer on Clean Air standards that require the use of cleaner burning fuels during the summer. Hastert was defending oil companies, who were being accused of price gouging. The Federal Trade Commission

concluded its investigation of last year's price spike finding that gasoline was intentionally withheld from the market by the oil industry in order to raise prices.

The fact that Hastert would side with Big Energy comes as no surprise. In 1999, Hastert went to bat for an Illinois Utility company in the House GOP tax bill. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Hastert teamed up with Rep. Jerry Weller to insert a provision to "facilitate utility mergers by ensuring the sales go forward without any of the major parties involved getting stuck with a tax liability. The legislation would hasten the planned power mergers in the home states of House Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-IL) and [then] Ways and Means Chairman Bill Archer (R-TX)" by ensuring that the tax-preferred status of nuclear cleanup funds is passed along to the new purchasers of nuclear plants. (*Wall Street Journal*, 7/21/99) This was a make or break issue in the merger of Illinova and Dynegy, because Illinova needed to sell its nuclear generating station for the merger to go forward. Without the tax benefit the sale would have been hindered.

Speaker Hastert called the bill "a good deal for the American people", but the Boston Globe asked "is he talking about the families who pay high electric bills in his state or the utility companies that will be able to write off the costs of decommissioning their nuclear power plants to the tune of \$1.1 billion?" (*The Boston Globe*, 8/15/99)

The Speaker has long been a good friend to the utilities. In the Illinois state legislature, "When then-Gov. James Thompson needed someone to handle the deregulation of the state's utilities--a complex task on which billions of dollars depended--he turned to Hastert, who ultimately produced a bill that critics said gave away too much to the utilities." (*Chicago Tribune*, 4/11/99)

"In 1986 Hastert had Republican staff members crafted a plan to completely overhaul Illinois' tax system in a way that would have significantly benefited utilities. The plan, which never advanced, would have eliminated the property and gross-receipts taxes that utilities pay and replaced the revenue with a new "state service tax" that every service-oriented business, from insurance agencies to funeral homes, would have had to pay." (*Chicago Tribune*, 4/11/99)

## **House Majority Leader Dick Armey: Any Friend of Big Oil & Gas is a Friend of Mine**

As Majority Leader, Dick Armey schedules all House legislative action. Because of this power, Armey's views on energy will be pivotal in the current energy debate ahead. Big Energy could not have found a better friend, and they have nurtured that friendship for quite some time. Upon ascending to the position of Majority Leader," some commented that Armey has 'proven a feisty scrapper for the oil and gas interests..'" (*Energy Economist*, 12/1/94)

## ***Who Finances Majority Leader Armey's Campaigns***

From 1991 through 2000, Majority Leader Armey has collected more than \$400,000 from Big Energy, according to the Campaign Study Group. (This includes funds to his campaign committee and his Leadership PAC – Majority Leader's Fund.) Specifically, he raised \$308,325 from Oil and Gas, and \$89,850 from Electric Utilities.

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, Oil and Gas are a top industry contributor to Armey's campaign, and have been over the last several election cycles.

The Majority Leader's Fund of Rep. Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.) reported raising \$581,473 in the just three months," including \$ 25,000 ..from..Texas energy firm Enron Corp." (*Washington Post*, 11/1/00) But it is not just money that flows between Armey and Enron. Long-time Armey aide and director of his political action committee, Pat Shortridge became the senior director for federal government affairs for the Texas-based energy giant Enron this summer. (*Roll Call* 5/10/01)

## ***Record on Behalf of Big Energy***

In return for the wealth of contributions, Armey has embraced the Bush pro-energy industry plan. Majority Leader Armey stated 'America needs a balanced, comprehensive approach. ... The president's plan does that,' (*AP Online* May 17, 2001)

Armey is such a friend to Big Oil that he blasted calls to hold hearings to look at allegations of "price gouging" by the energy industry. He denounced this idea even though it came from fellow GOP Leader J.C. Watts. Armey said that hearings to require Big Energy to explain why prices are skyrocketing amount to "cheap political demagoguery?" (*CongressDaily*, 6/7/01)

Armey even voted against allowing the House to consider legislation that would help electricity consumers in the West.

Nine days before Bush announced his plan, Armey "appeared remarkably unconcerned about rising gas prices and energy conservation." (*Shepard, Cox News Service/Ft. Worth Star-Telegram*, 5/19/00) "Nobody's happy with the price of gasoline," added House Majority Leader Richard K. Armey, R-Texas, "but as Merle Haggard would say, that is the way love goes." (*Seattle Times*, 5/17/01)

Like the Bush Administration, Armey has said we should focus on long-term fixes for finding and extracting energy, and refining it, rather than doing anything to help consumers now.. "We cannot go out and build refineries and generators overnight," Armey said. (*CongressDaily*, 5/8/01)

Mr. Armey and many of his colleagues want tax breaks for oil producers and more oil and gas exploration on federal land, including the waters off Florida and California and the Arctic



National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska. (*New York Times*, 3/30/00)

Armey's votes this year show that he is ready to drill for Big Oil. Specifically, Armey:

- Voted NO on a Democratic amendment to H.R. 2217 that passed with a bipartisan majority banning new oil and gas exploration within national monument boundaries. (Vote 180, 6/21/01)
- Voted NO on a bipartisan amendment to H.R. 2217 that would prevent oil and gas development in the Gulf of Mexico off the coast of Florida. Armey and other GOP Leaders sided with Big Energy over the directions of the people of Florida. (Vote 181: 247Y, 164N on 6/21/01)

Instead of working to help consumers, House Majority Leader Dick Armey has played politics all of last year on energy. He spent much of last year castigating the Democrats and Vice President Al Gore. "We're not being gouged; we're being Gored," Mr. Armey said. "Thanks to the failed energy policies of the Clinton-Gore administration, gas prices are skyrocketing and working men and women are finding it more difficult to fill their gas tanks." (*DALLAS MORNING NEWS*, 6/23/00) While undercutting the President's energy policy, House Republicans spent years cutting Clinton's proposals for more energy efficiency, conservation, and development of renewable energy. Armey's solution was more tax breaks for oil and gas. Regarding oil and gas tax breaks, Armey said "the case is just and it is reasonable, and I think there is a good chance of getting it." (*CongressDaily*, 4/14/99) In addition, Armey called for an end of "finger pointing" at Big Oil, as the Federal Trade Commission began investigating rising Midwestern gas prices.

But his efforts for Big Energy go back farther than that. In 1996, Armey was so allied with Big Oil that he was willing to cut education funds in order to pay for a roll back of the gasoline tax – which Big Oil supported. (*Christian Science Monitor*, 5/9/96) In 1995 Armey supported opening ANWR to oil exploration as a way to raise money for the Treasury Department. (*Christian Science Monitor*, 2/23/95)

Further, Armey supported abolishing the Department of Energy, even though it is charged with developing and implementing energy policy. Texas supporters of abolishing DOE include the North Texas Oil and Gas Assn.; The West Central Texas Oil and Gas Assn.; and Texas Republican Reps. Dick Armey, Tom Delay and Sam Johnson. (*Inside Energy/with Federal Lands*, 7/15/96)

Even in 1999, Republican Leaders called for eliminating the Department of Energy, with its conservation programs and renewable energy conservation and research, and selling off the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. Specifically, in April and May of last year - after OPEC's production cuts started a sharp rise in prices - Republican Leaders Dick Armey, Tom Delay, and Roy Blunt joined Republican Budget Chair John Kasich and 34 other Republicans to introduce H.R. 1649, the "Department of Energy Abolishment Act."

The Armey-Delay Energy Bill would have eliminated the Energy Department and with it oil conservation programs and renewable energy conservation and research. It took energy



policy out of the Cabinet, and sold off the SPR and the Navy's petroleum reserves.

Finally, Armev is so out of step on the energy issue that he was one of only 37 Members of the 435-Member House who voted against the only major energy bill (H.R. 776) in the last decade. He voted against this major bipartisan energy bill even though it promoted increased domestic energy production and conservation; promoted the wider use of alternative motor fuels; streamlined the nuclear plant licensing process; restricted state powers to regulate gas production; banned certain offshore oil and gas drilling; overhauled federal laws governing electric utilities; provided tax incentives for renewable energy; and for other purposes. (1992 Vote 144, 5/27/92)

## **House Majority Whip Tom DeLay: The Congressman from Enron**

Tom DeLay, the House Majority Whip, is the Republican Leadership's point man on pushing through the Bush energy package. He is known as the "Hammer" because of his strong-arm tactics, particularly when it comes to fundraising. DeLay has long been a strong supporter of Big Energy – pushing an Enron-backed electricity deregulation bill, and spearheading GOP efforts on regulatory reform – the number one priority of Big Oil.

### ***Raking It In From Big Energy***

From 1991 through 2000, Majority Whip Tom DeLay has collected more than \$625,000 from Big Energy, according to the Campaign Study Group. (This includes funds to his campaign committee and his Leadership PAC – Americans for a Republican Majority) Specifically, he raised \$466,139 from Oil and Gas, and more than \$150,000 from Electric Utilities.

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, Oil and Gas are the top industry contributor to DeLay's campaign, and have been since at least 1994. In fact, DeLay was the 11<sup>th</sup> top House recipient of money from Oil and Gas in the 2000 election, and was in the top 10 in 1998 and 1996.

But this does not complete the accounting of DeLay's fundraising efforts. Over the past several years, DeLay has created other fundraising entities that did not have to report its contributions. For example, "The Republican Majority Issues Committee of House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) reported \$482,240 in contributions, including... \$75,000 from executives of Enron." (*Washington Post*, 11/ 1/00) "A leadership PAC started by House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) was originally registered in Virginia ..[in 1996 took in] \$42,500 in corporate funds from oil giant Texaco..." (*Washington Post*, 5/16/99)

## ***DeLay's Record on Behalf of Big Energy***

Mr. DeLay, who is the House Republican leadership's "point man" on energy, said Congress should "focus on removing the barriers to energy development in federal environmental regulations." (*Washington Times*, 3/7/01)

DeLay has heartily endorsed the President's pro-drilling, anti-environment plan, and will be coordinating House action this summer. When the plan came out, DeLay said, "President Bush and Vice President Cheney today unveiled a comprehensive and forward-looking energy policy that addresses America's serious energy shortage. The quicker we enact the components of this comprehensive plan, the sooner we can get relief to the American people. The Republicans in the House will act immediately to craft legislation to address America's complex energy shortage while keeping our nation secure. Next week, I will bring together all the relevant House committees to map-out an action plan to ensure that we pass comprehensive energy legislation by the first week of August." (**Press Release**, 5/17/01)

DeLay is strongly opposed to helping Western consumers with their electric bills. He voted against even allowing the House to consider legislation that would help electricity consumers in the West. On June 18, he sent a letter to federal regulators (FERC), strongly objecting to electricity price relief for Western consumers. Specifically, he wrote: "price caps are not a solution to the electricity supply problem in California; they are an invitation to a radically dysfunctional electricity market and economic chaos." DeLay while opposing consumer relief has said, "A successful solution will: Eliminate environmental and regulatory barriers; create tax incentives; improve access to federal land for energy production; and expand the size of regional markets." (*Houston Chronicle*, 1/31/01)

DeLay's big idea for easing gasoline prices is to free oil refineries from all federal restrictions on the amount of pollution they put in the air and water. (*The Houston Chronicle March 26, 2000*) He has been advocating this help for Big Oil since at least 1995. He supported riders that would have forbidden the agency from enforcing federal wetlands protections, restricting the amount of arsenic in public drinking water, cleaning up new toxic waste sites or setting limits on air pollution from industries and oil refineries. "Republican leaders in the House, including Representative Tom DeLay of Texas, the majority whip, have worked for months to head off the refinery regulation." (*New York Times*, 7/27/95)

DeLay does not miss an opportunity to expound on the virtues of drilling. On *Meet the Press*, DeLay commented: "Listen, the cleanest thing you could do is drill off the coast of California and Florida." (*Meet the Press*, 3/19/00)

"Providing access to our domestic resources at home to reduce our dependence on foreign supplies. And yes, that includes opening up Alaska reserves and approving Lease Sale 181 in the Gulf of Mexico. Today the energy industry can extract oil and gas while treading lightly on the environment." (*Testimony before the Energy and Commerce Committee*, 3/6/01)

DeLay's devotion to drilling for Big Oil in environmentally sensitive areas has also been born out in his actions this year. Specifically, DeLay:

- Voted NO on a Democratic amendment to H.R. 2217 that passed with a bipartisan majority banning new oil and gas exploration within national monument boundaries. **(Vote 180, 6/21/01)**
- Voted NO on a bipartisan amendment to H.R. 2217 that would prevent oil and gas development in the Gulf of Mexico off the coast of Florida. **(Vote 181: 247Y, 164N on 6/21/01)** “This amendment makes about as much sense as shutting down all exploration in the Gulf of Mexico and weakens our energy security,” said House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, R-Texas. **(AP, 6/22/01)**
- Cosponsored H.R. 39 this year, which calls for opening the pristine Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling.

**Electricity Deregulation**— Electricity deregulation has long been a top priority of House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, R-Texas. In the 104th Congress, DeLay introduced an electric deregulation bill. “The Houston Republican’s measure would appear to have all over it the fingerprints of DeLay constituents such as Enron and the petrochemical industries that line the Houston Ship Channel, many of which belong to the Electricity Consumers Resource Council” **(Power Markets Week, October 7, 1996)** House Majority Whip Tom DeLay’s bill that would “give [Enron] unparalleled advantage over competitors.” **(Oregonian, 12/8/96)**

His efforts were described as follows: “At the behest of his top patron, Houston-based energy giant Enron Corp., House Republican Whip Tom DeLay of Texas introduced legislation in January 1997 that would have completely deregulated the electricity industry. DeLay’s legislation was known on Capitol Hill as the ‘Enron bill,’ and not just because Kenneth Lay, the company’s chairman and chief executive officer, and other Enron executives personally consulted with DeLay as he drafted the bill. DeLay’s proposal was a veritable legislative wish list for the company, which had already planned its market expansion around industry deregulation. And all it cost was \$51,550 in contributions to DeLay’s re-election campaigns and to his PAC. **(The Buying of the Congress, Charles Lewis)**

In fact, “some call DeLay ‘the congressman from Enron,’ a reference to his close ties to Houston-based Enron Corp., which sells wholesale electricity.” **(The National Journal, 6/3/00)**

**Oppose Energy Efficiency** – DeLay was one of two House members to vote against a bill requiring national energy standards for large appliances. **(Associated Press, 3/4/87)**

**Regulatory Reform/Project Relief** – DeLay wrote planks of the House GOP’s 1994 “Contract with America” that called for rolling back federal regulations. **(CQ Politics in America, December 2000)** These bills proposed so called “regulatory reform,” which Exxon Corp. chairman and chief executive officer Lee R. Raymond, who was elected API [American Petroleum Institute] chairman-elect called “the oil industry’s highest priority issue.” **(THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS, 11/ 14/95)**

He organized Project Relief, a group of business industry lobbyists, to help passed the Republican “Contract with America.” Members of Project Relief included Big Energy

lobbyists from Chevron and General Electric. (Common Cause Magazine 1996, Summer)  
“House Majority Whip Tom DeLay even organized a Capitol ‘war room’ where lobbyists staffed his blitz on behalf of a moratorium on federal regulation.” (*Washington Post*, 1/14/01)

**Repeal Clean Air Act** – Finally, over the past several Congresses, Rep. Tom DeLay has introduced legislation to repeal the Clean Air Act amendments of 1990, which the lobbyists from oil, and electric power have supported. (*The Baltimore Sun*, 11/4/98)

## **House Energy & Commerce Chair Billy Tauzin: The “Cagey Cajun”**

Rep. “Billy” Tauzin has Big Oil roots that go all the way back to his college days when he put himself through school working on an oil rig. (*San Jose Mercury*, 2/19/01) Ever since, Tauzin has been an “FOBO” - a Friend of Big Oil. In turn, Big Oil, along with other Big Energy interests, have been a friend to Tauzin.

Now, as Chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, Tauzin is positioned to be a key player in passing President Bush’s pro-production, pro-industry energy plan. After securing the chairmanship, Tauzin promised he’d help create “a national energy policy with increased domestic production a top priority.” (*The New Orleans Times Picayune*, 1/5/01)

### ***Big Energy Has Pumped Hundreds of Thousands into Tauzin Campaigns***

Lest there be any doubt who Tauzin answers to, consider the money he receives from Big Energy interests. Between January 1, 1991 and December 31, 2000, Tauzin and his PAC, “Bayou Leader,” collected \$324,387 in donations from the Oil and Gas industry. In that same time period, Tauzin and his PAC received \$218,964 from Electric Utilities. All told, between 1991 and 2000 Tauzin and his “Bayou Leader” PAC took in \$551,950 from Big Energy interests. (Campaign Study Group)

In the 2000 election cycle, as Tauzin competed for the chairmanship of the Energy and Commerce Committee, he reported \$179,533 in contributions from the Energy and Natural Resources sector. His largest contributor was the Oil and Gas industry with \$72,774 in contributions followed, in third place, by the Electric Utilities industry which contributed \$71,214. Overall, Tauzin was the fifth biggest House recipient of money from Electric Utilities and the tenth biggest House recipient of dollars from Oil and Gas interests. (Center for Responsive Politics)

In an effort to get on Tauzin’s “IOU a favor” list, Big Energy started courting him even before the chairmanship was his - during the Republican National Convention. At the convention, Tauzin hosted a “Mardi Gras” party that one of his aides freely admitted was underwritten by “a bunch of telecommunications and energy companies.” (*New York Times*, 8/1/00) Sponsors included the Southern Co., the nation’s largest utility holding company (The Atlanta Constitution, 8/2/00) and the “Edison Electric Institute, the trade association for private utilities . . .” (*Legal Times*, 7/31/00)

It turns out Tauzin likes to hire Big Energy lobbyists to key staff positions. Take, for example, the case of Nydia Bonnin, a former lobbyist for the Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO). She’s now deputy staff director for Tauzin’s Energy and Commerce committee. (*The Baton Rouge Advocate*, 1/22/01)

## ***Record on Behalf of Big Energy***

Given Rep. “Billy” Tauzin’s longtime ties to Big Energy, it’s no surprise he is a big supporter of the Bush energy plan and legislation that benefits Big Energy, even if it’s at the expense of energy consumers and the environment. Here’s a look at the highlights of Tauzin’s pro-Big Energy/anti-consumer and anti-environment legislative record.

In recent months, Chairman Tauzin has made his Big Energy loyalties crystal clear. Tauzin, like Bush, opposes price caps for wholesale energy in California. He’s announced his support for further oil and gas drilling in the Gulf of Mexico despite objections from fellow Republicans like Florida governor Jeb Bush. (*States News Service, 5/17/01*)

Tauzin and fellow Republicans also recently abandoned legislation designed to help ease the California energy crisis. Following that decision, Tauzin made this defeatist, anti-consumer statement: “We were no longer going to waste any more time to try to resolve an issue that can’t be resolved.” Now the Chairman is planning to introduce anti-environmental legislation that will ease clean air requirements on so-called “boutique” gasoline blends. What’s next? Tauzin promises to bring forth pro-production energy legislation. (*AP, 6/6/01*)

Other recent Tauzin legislative low-lights:

- Co-sponsor of H.R. 39 (1/3/01) which calls for opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, “America’s Serengeti,” to oil and gas drilling.
- Co-sponsor of H.R. 1101 (3/20/01) which proposes to repeal the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, thereby protecting natural gas and public utilities holding companies from having to provide records to state and federal governments.
- Voted NO on a Democratic amendment to H.R. 2217 that passed with a bipartisan majority banning new oil and gas exploration within national monument boundaries. (*Vote 180, 6/21/01*)
- Voted NO on a bipartisan amendment to H.R. 2217 that would prevent oil and gas development in the Gulf of Mexico off the coast of Florida. (*Vote 181: 247Y, 164N on 6/21/01*)

This Big Energy focus is nothing new for Tauzin. “In 1996 Tauzin went to bat for his oil-producing district, going up against environmentalists on a bill to provide tax incentives for offshore deep-water oil drilling. Faced with opposition from Republican leaders, Tauzin failed twice at pushing the bill through the House. He later maneuvered to have it successfully attached to an Alaska export bill that was signed into law.” (*San Jose Mercury News, 2/19/01*)

In conclusion, Rep. Tauzin is one to watch closely. As one press report warns: “[H]e’s known by friends and colleagues as the ‘Cagey Cajun’ for his penchant for behind-the-scenes deal-making.” (*San Jose Mercury News, 2/19/01*)

## House Energy Subcommittee Chair Joe Barton: Texas Deregulator

Rep. Joe Barton is another key player in the energy debate. As chairman of the House Commerce Committee's Energy and Air Quality Subcommittee, he's ". . . charged with moving the White House's controversial energy policy through the closely divided House. . ." (*National Journal*, 6/9/01) Upon receiving the President's plan Barton held a press conference, promised to work diligently with Bush, and declared, "We're not going to conserve our way out of this." (*National Journal*, 6/9/01).

### ***Raking It In From Big Energy***

It's no wonder Rep. Barton is in lockstep with President Bush on energy policy. Barton is one of the biggest beneficiaries of contributions from Big Energy interests. Between January 1, 1991 and December 31, 2000, Barton and his PAC, the "Texas Freedom Fund," received \$535,267 from Oil and Gas interests. During the same time period, Barton and his PAC took in \$451,059 from Electric Utilities. All told, between 1991 and 2000, Barton broke the million dollar mark - raking in a whopping \$1,004,909 from energy interests. (Campaign Study Group)

During the 2000 election cycle, Barton pulled in \$252,940 from the Energy and Natural Resources sector. Most notably, he received more money from the Electric Utilities industry than any other house candidate with contributions totaling \$136,090. Oil and Gas interests gave \$101,600 in donations making Barton the third biggest House recipient of money from that industry. Barton was also the top House recipient of money from the Natural Gas Transmission and Distribution industry which gave him \$29,750. (**Center for Responsive Politics**)

Clearly Rep. Joe Barton is one of Big Energy's most favorite sons. A check of the records reveals virtually every Oil and Gas company you can think of and then some - 39 companies in all - gave money to Barton in 2000. (**Center for Responsive Politics**)

Barton's ties and favors to Big Energy special interests are well documented. Last year, he championed a utility deregulation bill favored by for-profit electric power companies. That led to a Washington Post investigation that revealed a former top Barton aide, Jeffrey MacKinnon, had led "a years-long secret effort by some of those same utilities to funnel millions of dollars through two front groups to lobby against legislation sponsored by (then) full committee Chairman Thomas J. Bliley Jr. (R-Va)."

But that was just the beginning. It turned out MacKinnon is also treasurer of Barton's "Texas Freedom Fund" PAC. When confronted MacKinnon denied a conflict and said unconvincingly: "We [just] moved the money." (*Washington Post*, 7/13/00) Now the latest . . . MacKinnon, who still runs Barton's PAC, was recently retained as a lobbyist by several major Texas power generators and suppliers who oppose price caps on wholesale electricity sold to California.



*(National Journal, 6/9/01)* Clearly, the companies hope MacKinnon's close connection to Barton will further ensure their interests come first.

This past February, two senior House Democrats slammed Barton for holding closed-door meetings with special-interests to discuss energy-related legislation. In a letter to Barton, Reps. John Dingell and Rick Boucher wrote: "We can only assume that the purpose of working groups is to work behind the scenes with no public scrutiny." *(National Journal, 2/14/01)*

Finally there's this Barton gem. It turns out before he was elected to the House, Barton ". . . briefly worked as a consultant to Atlantic Richfield Co . . ." *(National Journal, 6/9/01)*

### ***Record on Behalf of Big Energy***

Over the years, Barton has carved out a legislative record that clearly demonstrates he's in the pocket of for-profit, Big Energy interests. Specifically, he's fought for deregulation legislation that will help these companies make even bigger profits at the expense of public power providers and consumers.

In the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress, Barton drafted an "Electricity Emergency Relief Act" (H.R. 1647) ostensibly to help ease the California electricity crisis. However, as Rep. Henry Waxman pointed out, the legislation promised to actually make matters worse ". . . by increasing energy costs, undermining state efforts to respond to the electricity crises, and weakening important environmental protections." (Waxman Summary) The bill was filled with energy-company specific benefits. In fact, the lobbyists for Reliant (a major energy company and GOP contributor) even bragged about inserting provisions for their benefit into Barton's bill. Barton got the legislation through his subcommittee, but it died when Energy and Commerce Chairman Tauzin decided not to take up the bill in the full committee. *(National Journal, 6/9/01)*

Now Barton's focus is the Bush energy plan. As the point man on the committee, Barton will be responsible for shepherding through the House ". . . 20 of the most controversial proposals . . . such as plans to allow oil drilling in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and to permit the federal government to seize private land to build electricity lines." *(National Journal, 6/9/01)*

Other Barton legislative low-lights:

- Co-sponsor of H.R. 39 (1/3/01) which calls for opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, "America's Serengeti," to oil and gas drilling.
- Voted against an amendment to H.R. 2217 banning new oil and gas exploration within national monument boundaries. **(Vote: 242Y, 173N on 6/21/01)**
- Voted against an amendment to H.R. 2217 that would prevent oil and gas development in the Gulf of Mexico off the coast of Florida. **(Vote: 247Y, 164N on 6/21/01)**

In the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress, Barton introduced an "Electricity Deregulation" bill (H.R. 2944) that

was routinely described as “too utility friendly” and as “pander[ing] to the utility industry.” He also introduced a broad manager’s amendment that one lobbyist called “. . . ‘the EEI dream bill,’ referring to the Edison Electric Institute, which represents large incumbent electric utilities.” (*National Journal*, 10/20/99)

One of only two members to oppose on the House floor legislation requiring national energy standards for large appliances. Barton called the bill “bad public policy.” (*AP*, 3/4/87)

For Rep. Barton, the pressure is on in the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress. As his former staffer turned lobbyist Jeffrey MacKinnon puts it: “Now is the time that Joe needs to prove that he can produce.” (*National Journal*, 6/9/01)

## **Senate Minority Leader Trent Lott: Front Yard Driller**

As Senate Minority Leader, Lott will play a key role in getting the Bush energy proposals before an nearly evenly divided Senate. Lott is known as a “faithful protector of corporate special interests.” (*Joe Conason, New York Observer*, 3/26/01) Lott’s especially faithful when it comes to protecting the interests of Big Energy. In fact, he was recently quoted as saying: “You could drill right off my front porch in Pascagoula, Mississippi.” (*Seattle Times*, 5/17/01))

### ***Raking It In From Big Energy***

Among U.S. Senators, Trent Lott is the sixteenth biggest recipient of donations from the energy industry. Consider the numbers. Between January 1, 1995 and December 31, 2000, Lott collected \$94,850 from Big Oil. During that same time period he amassed \$103,933 in donations from Electric Utilities. All told, Lott took in \$205,783 from Big Energy during that five year period. (**Campaign Study Group**)

During the 2000 election cycle, Electric Utilities were the fourth biggest contributor to the Lott war chest. Among all Senators, Lott was the ninth biggest recipient of contributions from the Electric Utility industry. (**Center for Responsive Politics**)

Several Big Energy interests are among Lott’s top 20 campaign contributors for the 2000 election cycle. They include Edison Electric Institute, Chevron, the Southern Co. and Texas Utilities. In all, 26 Oil and Gas companies contributed to the Lott campaign as did 26 Electric Utilities. (**Center for Responsive Politics**)

In his role as Senate Minority Leader, and previously as Senate Majority Leader, Lott has been and still is in a prime position to help his friends in Big Energy. And they know it. That’s why it seems everywhere Trent Lott goes, Big Energy goes too.

Take, for example, the Republican National Convention last summer. Lott threw a 1950's-style sock hop "featuring such talent as Franki Valli and Dick Clark." Among the party sponsors was the Southern Co., a major Southeastern power producer, which paid \$60,000 to underwrite the event. "It's a way for us to build stronger relationships with our national representatives," sa[id] Southern Co. spokesman Buddy Elder. (*Legal Times*, 7/31/00)

Lott has a long history of close ties to special interests. In 1996, *National Journal* wrote that Lott had built ". . . one of Washington's most ambitious networks and a leadership political action committee (PAC) that over the past two years has pulled in more than \$1.7 million, tops among GOP Members." The article also reveals one of Lott's biggest fund raisers is lobbyist Edward M. Rogers Jr. who represents the Southern Co. and Textron. At the Republican Convention in San Diego [in 1996] Lott's PAC ". . . was feted by Atlantic Richfield Co." and "Six other large companies used the convention to show their gratitude to Lott and to build ties with him by hosting a GOP 'State Fair' . . . sponsored by, among others, the Southern Co. and Textron . . ." (*National Journal*, 12/21/96)

### ***Record on Behalf of Big Energy***

Until he was knocked from his Majority Leader roost by Sen. Jefford's defection from the Republican party, Trent Lott was charged with moving President Bush's agenda through the Senate. Among his top priorities was passage of Bush's pro-industry, pro-production energy plan which includes drilling for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. In March, he garnered the headline "Lott pushes for more drilling" when he went to New Hampshire. The first sentence of the story reads: "Sen. Majority Leader Trent Lott used a fund-raising trip to the state for Sen. Bob Smith to push for expanded oil exploration drilling and fewer regulations on campaign contributions." Stumping for Big Energy while pushing to make it easier for those interests to stuff his campaign coffers full of cash - now that's true, vintage Lott! (*AP*, 3/23/01)

In the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress Lott is a co-sponsor of S. 388, Sen. Frank Murkowski's pro-industry national energy plan. The bill includes a provision calling for the opening of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling. He's also a co-sponsor of S. 206 which repeals the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, which consumer and environmental groups say would result in massive mergers among existing utilities, inflated electricity prices, and more damage to public health and the environment.

In the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress Lott introduced his own so-called "Energy Security Act" (S. 2257) which called for reducing America's dependence on foreign oil by drilling more at home. It was a pro-drilling, pro-industry piece of legislation. He also was a co-sponsor of S. 2214 which would have allowed oil and gas drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Other Lott legislative low-lights:

- Co-sponsor S. 2090 which called for a one year moratorium followed by a reduction of the federal diesel excise tax. (106<sup>th</sup> Congress)

- Sponsor “Federal fuels tax holiday” legislation (S. 2262, 2285) temporarily suspending the fuel tax, which would have taken money from road construction to alleviate construction. Lott moved the bill directly to the Senate floor prompting criticism from Democrats. It was ultimately defeated. (*National Journal*, 4/1/00)

## **Senate Minority Leader Don Nickles: Mr. Corporate Welfare**

Sen. Don Nickles is another favorite son of Big Energy. Major oil and gas companies are some of his biggest campaign contributors. As Assistant Minority Leader, Nickles is in a prime position to help Big Energy get what it wants legislatively.

In 1999, Nickles made his pro-drilling, pro-industry views clear: “If we are to maintain a viable domestic petroleum industry, we must reverse this course of action by promoting industry growth and providing relief from burdensome federal regulation and taxation.” (*Nickles web site*) He supports opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling.

### ***Big Oil Fills Nickles Campaign Coffers***

Sen. Nickles is the third biggest recipient in the Senate of energy industry campaign donations. Between January 1, 1995 and December 31, 2000 he received \$229,197 from Big Oil. During that same time period, Electric Utilities contributed \$92,830 to Nickles. Overall, Big Energy invested \$328,027 in Nickles between 1995 and 2000. (*Campaign Study Group*)

In the 2000 election cycle, Nickles took in a whopping \$400,897 from the Energy and Natural Resources sector. That includes \$314,957 from the Oil and Gas industry which was the top contributor to Nickles’ campaign. Mining interests were the 18<sup>th</sup> biggest contributor with donations totaling \$39,000. (*Center for Responsive Politics*)

The top contributor to Nickles’ during the 2000 cycle was Phillips Petroleum (\$19,498). Other top givers included power-plant builder Fluor Corp. (\$10,000) and Southern California Edison (\$10,000). (*Center for Responsive Politics*)

Because of Nickle’s leadership position, party affiliation and he has a history with Big Oil, Big Energy interests don’t miss any opportunity to cement their relationship with him. Witness last summer’s Republican National Convention. “The Oklahoma-based oil giant (Kerr McGee) shelled out about \$60 for each of the 700 attendees at the midday brunch Sunday that honored Assistant Majority Leader Don Nickles of Oklahoma . . . The oil industry has good reason to court Nickles, who also is chairman of the Senate Energy Committee’s energy research committee.” (*AP*, 8/1/00) Also at the Republican convention, the Southern

Co. underwrote a party for Nickles “. . . headlined by country superstar Wynonna Judd at the Hard Rock Café. (*Legal Times*, 7/31/00)

## ***Record on Behalf of Big Energy***

Nickles is a co-sponsor of S. 206, a bill to repeal the Public Utilities Holding Company Act of 1935 - a proposal supported by utilities. But consumer and environmental groups have denounced this proposal saying that it would result in massive mergers among existing utilities, inflated electricity prices for consumers, and more damage to public health and the environment.

In the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress, Nickles:

- Sponsored the “Electric Consumer Choice Act” (S. 1284), a pro-industry deregulation bill.
- Co-sponsored S. 2214 which called for opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling
- Co-sponsored an oil and gas corporate welfare royalty relief bill (S. 924)
- Co-sponsored several other tax break bills for oil and gas producers.

Also in the 106<sup>th</sup> Nickles introduced an amendment to require Congressional approval for any national monuments established by the president. This prompted the Sierra Club to declare: “The Senate leadership is disregarding Americans’ desire to protect our public lands by passing anti-environmental riders that only benefit polluters and special interests.” (*Environmental News Service*, 7/19/00)

In 1999, the League of Conservation voters gave Sen. Nickles and other Republican leaders a zero for their environmental records due to their history of putting Big Energy companies first. “The special interests actively supported legislation . . . to exempt the oil industry from \$66 million to \$100 million in annual royalties for drilling on public lands . . . For the third year in a row, top Senate majority leaders ‘failed to cast a single vote in favor of conservation.’” (*Greenwire*, 2/10/00)

If there’s one overriding theme here, it’s that Nickles has a long history in the Senate of sponsoring and co-sponsoring corporate welfare legislation aimed at Big Energy producers. He believes in tax cuts and fewer regulations, a position best summed up in a bill he sponsored in the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress, S. 451. The bill was summarized this way: “A bill to encourage production of oil and gas within the United States by providing tax incentives and easing regulatory burdens . . .”(Thomas, Library of Congress)

## **Former Senate Energy Chair Frank Murkowski: Tap the Arctic**

Sen. Frank Murkowski is to the Senate what Rep. Joe Barton is to the House - Big Energy's best friend, a prolific fund-raiser of special interest dollars and an elected official willing to endanger consumers and the environment in order to reward his biggest campaign supporters. As ranking member and former Chair of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, Murkowski has a long history of doing favors for Big Energy. In the 107<sup>th</sup>, he's introduced a pro-industry Energy bill that calls for drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. The Sierra Club says: "Murkowski isn't introducing an energy bill, he's introducing an energy industry bill," (**Sierra Club Press Release, 2/2001**)

Murkowski is also a major supporter of the Bush pro-industry, pro-drilling energy plan. In fact, the Senator helped the President roll-out the plan at an event in Pennsylvania in May. He praised it as: "Good for America and good for Alaska." (**Murkowski press release, 5/17/01**) What Murkowski really means is the President's plan is good for Big American Oil companies that want to do business in Alaska.

### ***Big Oil Contributes Heavily to Murkowski***

Sen. Frank Murkowski is the second biggest recipient in the Senate of Big Energy donations. Only Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison of Texas tops him. Between January 1, 1995 and December 31, 2000, Murkowski received \$156,079 from Oil and Gas interests. In the same time period, Electric Utilities gave Murkowski \$244,842. All told during that five year period, Senator Murkowski pulled in \$416,920 from Big Energy. (**Campaign Study Group**)

During the last election cycle, Murkowski continued to rake in big time dollars from the energy industry. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, the Murkowski campaign pocketed \$368,217 from the Energy and Natural Resources sector. That included \$107,029 from Oil and Gas interests, the top industry contributor to Murkowski. The Senator's campaign reported \$90,972 from Electric Utilities, the second top industry contributor to the campaign. Rounding out the top 20 industry contributors to the Murkowski campaign were miscellaneous energy interests which gave \$20,370. (**Center for Responsive Politics**)

Records show Murkowski received PAC money from 11 Oil and Gas firms and 25 Electric Utilities in the 2000 election cycle. Murkowski's biggest individual campaign contributor was the Veco Corporation which provides services to the energy industry including management, engineering and construction of oil and gas drilling operations. Veco gave \$21,000 followed by the Entergy Corp. at \$17,500 and, in fifth place, Edison Electric Institute which gave \$13,013. In fact, virtually all of the top contributors to the Murkowski campaign were energy or utility companies. (**Center for Responsive Politics**)

The Senator is so beholden to his friends in the Oil and Gas business, together they're

working to make sure nothing interferes with making heaps of money by drilling the land. So intertwined is Sen. Murkowski with his Big Energy friends, this April he (and the other members of the Alaska delegation) wrote them a “confidential” letter suggesting “. . . that oil companies ought to fund a ‘Harry and Louise’ style national advertising campaign to whip up support for opening Alaska’s Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling . . . the missives were sent to the chief executive officers or top executives of Anadarko Petroleum Corp., BP Amoco Corp., Chevron Corp., ExxonMobil Corp., Phillips Petroleum Co., Shell Oil Co., and Unocal Co.” (*National Journal*, 5/19/01)

Then there’s Murkowski’s role as honorary chairman of the PAC, Americans for Sound Energy Policy. “[It] raised thousands of dollars from electric utility executives and lobbyists last year . . . [and] was run by Gregg Renkes, a former staff director of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee. Renkes is now a lobbyist for at least eight energy-related companies . . . Funding for the PAC came from employees of Southern Co., Anadarko Petroleum Corp. and Texas Utilities Co., in addition to Alaska-based donors.” (*The Scoop*, 2/27/01)

## ***Record on Behalf of Big Energy***

Given Murkowski’s ties to Big Energy, it’s no surprise his legislative history is one of favoring business over the environment and consumers. This year, Murkowski unveiled his 300-page “National Energy Security Act of 2001” (S. 388). It’s been termed “an oil driller’s bill” by the New York Times. (*New York Times*, 3/5/01) It’s also been described as “a gigantic payday for fossil fuel and nuclear industries” (*Friends of the Earth*, 2/26/01); “a massive giveaway to energy companies” (*Taxpayers for Common Sense*, 2/26/01) and as “a lavish gift to energy corporations.” (*Public Citizen*, 2/28/01) Specifically, the bill would give \$23 billion in subsidies and tax breaks to energy companies seeing record profits. It’s no wonder. Guess who helped Murkowski draft the legislation? The American Petroleum Institute (API). (*National Journal*, 4/7/01)

Among other things, the bill calls for opening the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil and gas drilling. The Wilderness Society called that a “greedy sham” and said “This bill isn’t about filling America’s fuel tanks, it’s about lining the pockets of special interests in Alaska.” (*US Newswire*, 5/8/00) Murkowski and other members of the Alaska delegation have been trying for two decades to open the Arctic Refuge to drilling. (*National Journal*, 3/3/01)

Other elements of S. 388 include:

- Royalty Relief (e.g. corporate welfare) for companies drilling on federal lands.
- Incentive payments (more corporate welfare) for nuclear energy technology and research
- Repeals the Public Utility Holding Act of 1935, thereby protecting natural gas and public utilities holding companies from having to provide records to state and federal governments
- Dishes out “\$23 billion in tax subsidies, including hefty breaks for companies in the coal, nuclear, and oil and gas industries.” (*National Journal*, 4/7/01)



In previous years, Murkowski has unsuccessfully pursued sweeping electricity deregulation (*National Journal*, 6/24/00) and other corporate welfare-style legislation for his friends in the Big Energy business. For instance, legislation last year (S. 1308) would have protected “companies from being taxed for receiving decommissioning funds as part of nuclear plant purchases.” That was something the Edison Electric Institute specifically asked for. (*Nucleonics Weeks*, 4/20/00)

As in years past, Sen. Murkowski continues to introduce pet special-interest legislation aimed at rewarding his Big Energy friends. In turn, year after year Big Energy rewards those efforts by contributing lots of money to Murkowski’s campaign war chest.